and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Besides himself, his wife, and six children, the house is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are sometimes used also. The occupants of the house eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grandfather, who was a medicine man, came from the Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were baptized in the Catholic faith, although his grandfather never became a regular church member. Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. At the Post he attended the Protestant mission school until he was 12. During these years he lived with and worked for the English missionary, herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his little farm at the Post. He then went to Aquidauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, taking his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he returned to the Post to help his grandfather, who was becoming very old. After his grandfather died he married and went to live with his father-in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During this time he, together with some other Indians, worked for a while on the telegraph line. In 1932 he and several other Indians went with the manager of the Post to fight in the revolution, staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in the village and began working for the manager of the Post, doing many things, such as building repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not cultivate land of his own. He has been the captain of one of the three football teams and the manager of the sports club where dances are given.

[Post Chaco Period]

did continue these functions for some time after the arrival of the Terena in Brazil, but these functions were carried out with increasing laxity. They say that men began to marry women belonging to the opposite moiety and that the children of such marriages could choose the moiety to which they wished to belong. Furthermore, during ceremonials one could temporarily join the opposite moiety although still maintaining the membership of the moiety into which one was born. The gradual break-down of moiety endogamy and ceremonial activity appears to be associated with the enforced dispersion of the Terena. When families and individuals found themselves scattered far and wide on the fazendas and in the towns it was not always possible to follow tribal customs, the tendency being to copy the ways of the Brazilians among whom they lived. The break-down of the moiety organization evidently proceeded so far that when the Terena again settled, this time on reservations, after 1910 the old moiety customs were not reinstituted.

Today the moieties no longer function as ceremonial units. If asked to which moiety he belongs, a Terena will give an answer but he will not volunteer this information. As vital functioning units, therefore, the moieties no longer exist. The old dances which were organized on a moiety basis have largely disappeared. The really important social activities today are centered around the "bate-pau," a Brazilian pageant with Terena elements, and football. In each of these performances the performers are divided into two groups with different body paintings in the "bate-pau," and different colored sweaters in the football teams. In the "bate-pau" there are two dance leaders who select their followers and train them for the performance. The dance, as will be described later, is performed by the two groups acting in opposition to one another. Competition is keen, the winning dance team receiving the applause of the village. Football, likewise, is a performance in which opposition of two groups is a primary feature, each being led by its duly appointed captain. In addition, when we know that the Terena in most villages are divided into Catholics and Protestants, each sect having its own characteristic leaders and social functions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Terena have been

178 182 616 [535] 177 527 535 [526] 177 182 795

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of organization resembling that of the Mbayá. 105 177 [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class organization was the first to disappear. The appointment of captains or village chiefs first weakened and finally abolished the positions of the moiety chiefs. 105 177 182

3. During the period in which the Terena were forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew weaker, an individual being able to marry his opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite moiety during ceremonials. [616]

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, therefore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the local groups, or villages, are established on defined areas of Government land. Contact between the members of the different villages is maintained through intermarriage, visiting between relatives and friends, football matches between the principal villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions. 105 [162] [648] [628]

Within the principal villages we find the following structural elements: The basic unit is the individual family, which carries on the primary economic activities associated with the rearing and training of the young. The extended family is no longer a defined house group although bilateral kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same house, but in most cases they sooner or later build their own houses on the same lot. Politically the village is organized around the Post with the Brazilian manager exercising authority through his police force and the Terena village chief, or headman. In the principal villages the people are organized into two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger villages are organized into football teams and, in Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman [594] [596] [591] [648] [361] [771] [526]

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. [796] [177] [178] [520]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. [182] [197] [198] [152] [526]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. [771] [795] [684] [689]

although they no longer perform them. As one would expect, the ceremonial season opened at harvest time. This was a period of abundant food, enabling the people to remain in their villages. The fresh garden foods, no doubt, were a welcome change from stored foods, fish, game, wild roots, fruits, and herbs—besides adding vigor alike to the bodies of men, women, and children.

The cutting of the first ripened ears of maize was celebrated by dancing the *kochóvonunéti*. This masked dance was organized by one of the moiety chiefs at whose house the feasting took place. A number of men would repair to a temporary shelter where they painted themselves, put rhea feathers around their waists, glued cotton on their faces, and placed a net over their heads. After making themselves as frightening as possible the disguised dancers sallied forth. They went from door to door in the village telling the women and children that they were the ghosts of dead Indians, throwing sticks, and going through various antics. When the women and children saw the masked dancers they ran away and hid in real or imagined fright.

After tiring themselves the dancers went to the house of a *unati ashé*, or moiety chief, who supplied the dancers and others with honey beer. The dancers were supposed to drink until they could not remain on their feet. The more a man drank the more honor he gained in the eyes of his friends. This dance appears to have had a religious significance in the past. It was associated with the gathering of the first harvest and with the ghosts of the dead. It may be a very ancient Arawak feature dating from the time when the Terena were still predominantly agricultural.

On the day following the *kochóvonunéti*, the Terena played a game called *piritúti*. A man, selected for his marksmanship in throwing sticks, would dress, paint, and mask himself as on the day before. The game consisted in throwing sticks at other men who tried to approach him. The *piritúti*, or masked player, came into the village from the fields and hiding behind houses he would try to hit as many people as possible. The men of the village tried to approach within touching distance and if anyone touched the player he would be the winner. The game continued until someone was able to touch the *piritúti*. The Terena

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 529 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 526 529

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonunéti*, *pirituti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [241]

performed when the occasion demanded and were accompanied by drinking and eating. In addition to these social events, the Terena played a game called *everéni* during the rainy season. Whenever a group of people felt like amusing themselves they would gather leaves from a kind of thistle, known as *vihé*, which they threw over their moiety chief and his family. The chief then took a small clay pot and buried it in the ground before his house, placing a short stake above it. While this was going on the players smeared themselves with mud, and anyone who happened to be near was also smeared with mud and joined the party. The men then went back to the house of the chief, who selected an old but strong man to stand over the pot. The other men arranged themselves around him in a circle in order to defend him and the pot. The men were then approached by a large group of women who tried to break through the circle, dislodge the old man, and capture the pot. The game continued until the women reached and dug up the pot. The game was followed by singing, drinking, and eating.

There were also two other ceremonies which were not connected with the harvest season and were performed at any time of the year: The *láia* and the *kóhi-ehoti-kipahé*, or "pate-pan." Both are historically recent. The *láia* is no longer performed.

The *láia*, which was in fact a comic imitation of a European court scene with a king or princess, soldiers, and a fool, was arranged by the moiety chiefs. A temporary house with wooden walls decorated with cotton was built in the village. In the center of the house a wooden bench served as a throne. Usually a woman dressed as a princess, *rinereí*, sat on the throne surrounded by soldiers, *undarú*, dressed in ridiculous uniforms. The central figure of the carnival was the fool ("bobo" in Portuguese) who was selected for his ability to make people laugh. If anyone laughed he was taken prisoner by the soldiers who exacted a fine of food, *poreshoti*, before letting him go. The food was later used in the feast. In order to make the bystanders laugh the "bobo" would drag his feet, go through various contortions, and would address the princess in the most absurd and nonsensical manner. The comic act of the "bobo" continued until enough people laughed to provide food for the feast which followed. The

ing their children in their arms. The only light is 535
a lantern or two in the house. The young men 527
stand around in small groups and when the music starts they rush for their partners. After the dance is over they leave their partners without escorting them to their seats. While the dance is in progress men and boys sit on the grass just outside the dance circle and play cards and other games. Usually there are a few intoxicated men who provide a certain amount of comic relief. Quarreling and fighting are not common during [578] dances. Generally the dance is over by midnight.

FOOTBALL

The Terena say that football (soccer) was first 526
introduced into Bananal in 1933 from Taunay, the [177]
nearest Brazilian settlement. The first captain was Eleuterio. For one reason or another interest declined until 1941 when Leão and Bertolino formed a football club. The manager of the Post is a football enthusiast and assists the Terena in organizing games. There are, today, three football teams in Bananal—two leading teams and a third practice team. Players are selected by Bertolino and Leão, and anyone who is able to play or is not a personal enemy of the two captains can enter the teams. One team, however, is predominantly Protestant while the other is predominantly Catholic. The manager of the Post favors the Catholic team. The members of the No. 1 team wear green-and-red-colored shirts and have a black and white flag. Two football teams also exist in the neighboring Terena village of Cachoeirinha.

Each player has to buy his own shirt which costs from 6 to 7 dollars. The wife of the manager of the Post presented each player with a pair of shorts and gave each team its flag. The captains bought three footballs for about 1 dollar each. About half of the players prefer to play barefoot, the others using cheap shoes costing about a dollar a pair. There is a football field located near the Catholic church in Bananal where the teams practice in the evenings and and where matches are played against the neighboring teams.

From observation it can be said that the Terena are comparatively good players, for they win about as many games against the Brazilians as they lose.

They usually win when playing on their own field. 526
The Terena players follow the same rules of play as the Brazilians. They do not play rough and seldom try to retaliate if an opponent injures them in play. They play because they enjoy the game and are even willing to pay their own way to the neighboring towns of Miranda and Taunay to play against Brazilian teams.

Games are played on Saturdays, Sundays, and saints' days against the Taunay team. The Terena are an enthusiastic audience and cheer their team and also any good player whether in their own team or in the opposing team. The games are played alternately in Bananal and in Taunay. Games with Miranda, Aquidauana, Cachoeirinha, and Bodoquena are played on special holidays only, as on September 7 (Independence Day), November 15 (Proclamation of the Republic), and on New Year's Day. [527]

HORSE RACING

Another form of entertainment in which the Terena indulge is horse racing. There are no fixed dates for racing, the matter being left to pairs of horse owners who wish to challenge each other. Horse races are always run in pairs. A man may challenge another and bet a certain amount on his horse. This wager is made before witnesses and if the challenger backs out of his bet he can be made to pay. On a race day, therefore, there may be a number of pairs of races. 541 525

The race course, about 100 m. long, is on the outskirts of the village and consists of two parallel paths. A pair of riders go to the starting point and start by common agreement, usually after a number of false starts. Sometimes handicaps are given, as most Indians know the speeds of each other's horses. The public gathers at the finishing point, and bets on the outcome of the races are made by pairs of individuals. There are no special rules or control over betting, which ranges from 25 cents to 5 dollars. Even if only one race is arranged the day before, it usually happens that young men coming on horseback to watch the races will challenge each other on the field so that five or six races may actually be run.

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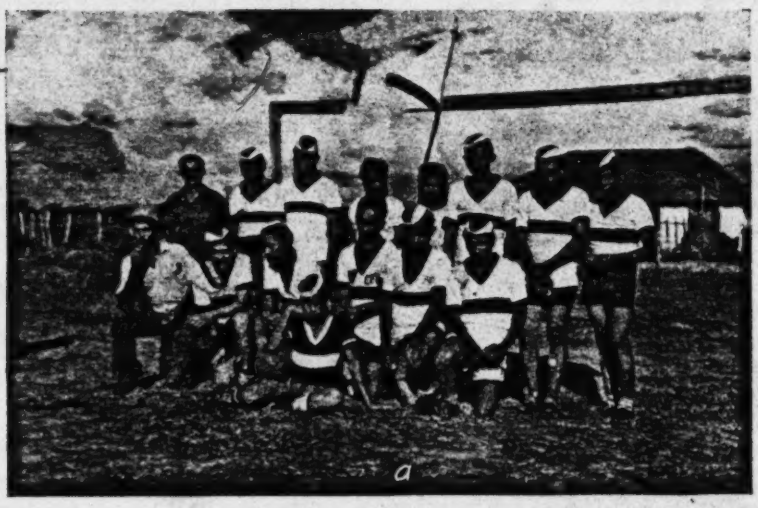

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PLATE 11.—Toraan sports. a, Football game. b, A crowd gathered for a home run.

[p. 83]

[End Plate 11]

[Traditional Culture]

/48 cont./

616 796 431 565 568

The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Waherê-Txané.

Then, the food was carried

616 796 526 to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonõ

[192]

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565] [178]

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

/49 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 796 526 565 178

century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

616 535 526 178 174 534 Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/75 cont./ [Cachoeirinha]

361 post, that of the school, and that of the church. (138) It is
621
[368]

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138. The only church in Cachoeirinha is Catholic; two North American padres of the Order of Redemptorists are located in Miranda and Aquidauna from where they go through the Terêna aldeas. The community is characterized by its resistance to the entry of Protestant missionaries, and its members are called Catholics, but by self-definition. There are only two Protestant families, both of whom came from Bananal.

798

361 made up of 53 ranchos and, at the time when we were there,
621 we counted 309 persons in this area alone. Nevertheless, it
[524] might be said that this nucleus is divided into two "bairros /barrios/," Cachoeirinha proper and Cruzeiro, at present very little differentiated, but which in times past were to some ex-
[363] tent rival groups with their own futebol teams. It should be added that these 53 ranchos are distributed in squares duly divided into streets, with leafy mango trees and rich vegetation, where quite wide and grassy streets stand out.

Argola is the name given to a former aldeamento which, as its name /"ring"/ indicates, follows a circular arrangement of its houses, probably as a survival from the traditional Terêna aldeamentos. Today, this name is used to designate 23 ranchos and their respective /76/ land plots, located in the same place as the original Argola and, for this reason, keeping the same name.

/116 cont./

178 796 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/ [614] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective [528] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious [756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said, the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact that the term is still in force as a general designation for the magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.

178 796 756 775 [255] [787] Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day. [772]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

• 526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

535 Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them
[114] were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an
[534] orchestra of drums and flutes.